

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXVIII. No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1815. [Price 1s.

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NOTICE.

TO MANUFACTURERS IN EVERY BRANCH.

On Saturday, the 26th instant, will be published, in a double Number of the Register, FIVE LETTERS from MR. COBBETT to LORD SHEFFIELD, on the subject of the WOOL TRADE; shewing his Lordship to be in error as to the grounds upon which he recommends a BILL to *restrain the importation of wool*; and exhibiting the clearest view of the present state of manufactures in America, *proving* that that country has extensive manufactories of *cottons* and *linens*, as well as of *woolens*; that *machinery* of all sorts is applied to these operations; that America has large flocks of *Merino sheep*, and that she already *exports wool to Europe*; also shewing, that, such are the inducements to emigration to that country, that it would be to aim a mortal blow at the manufactures of England to adopt any measure tending to enhance the price of our labour or of our raw-material; and that, to prevent our manufactures from experiencing immediate decay, it is necessary *that the Corn Bill should be repealed*.

NOTICE.

To the Readers of the Register.

The Indexes, Titles and Tables, for Volumes 25, 26 and 27, will be completed and ready for delivery to Newsmen and others, *on Saturday, the 9th of September*. In future, the Title and Index will form part of the Number which shall close *every quarter of a year*; so that the readers will all be regularly supplied with them, without any inconvenience, or any *additional expence* or trouble.—The *Tables of Prices of Bread, Wheat, and Meat*, to which will now be added that of *Wool*; and of the English and French *Funds*, together with the number of *Bankrupts*, will now be given *weekly*, instead of at the end of each volume. It may be convenient for some gentlemen, for temporary purposes, to possess these weekly, without

the necessity of applying to other sources of information; but, the great object of them is to enable those who enter into subjects of political economy, that is to say, the matters most interesting to mankind, to refer, at any moment, to data so important to all discussions relative to the situation and prospect of this country.

There is intended to be a *Supplement* to each Volume, to contain such facts and observations, as may be suppressed, in the course of the Weekly Numbers, for fear of offending the modesty, and thereby exciting the anger, of the parties concerned. In what way this Supplement will make its appearance will hereafter be explained.

TO THE BACK-WOODS' MEN ON THE BANKS OF THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

On John Bull's Press; with a particular instance in the TOWN OF DUDLEY, where the publishing of EPITAPHS ON NAPOLEON, and where the expences of ADDRESSES TO THE PRINCE REGENT, have been charged in the Parish Accounts, to be paid out of the rates, raised for the relief of the poor.

Botley, 15th of August, 1815.

If you lived in the Atlantic States, where you would have frequent opportunities of seeing English news-papers, you would not stand in need of the details, which I am now about to convey to you; because you would see, in those papers, quite sufficient to enable you to form a correct opinion of the sort of means made use of to give John Bull instruction in the science of politics, and to guard his political morality from adulteration, as well as to quicken and keep alive his loyalty. Indeed, some people may think it impertinent in me to address you upon such a subject, seeing that you need care nothing at all about John Bull or his Press or his Poor Rates. But, it may, in the midst of your labours, amuse you to hear of these things somewhat in detail; and it may,

besides, be useful, if you should, one of these days, take it into your heads to form your copper-coloured neighbours into a kingdom, and to put one of yourselves at the head of it.

There are two ways of teaching the science of Politics and of guarding the political morality of a people. One is not to suffer the Press to be unrestrained; that is to say, to stifle the voice of such persons as wish to promulgate matter on the wrong side. The other is, to encourage and to enforce, by all sorts of means, the promulgation of matter on the right side.

You have heard, long enough ago, of the means which are made use of in the way of *punishment*, after publication from John's press. You have also heard of some of the means, used to encourage promulgation on the right side. But, these are two very copious subjects, and cannot, be treated of here, in a manner to do justice to the parties, who carry on this important branch of John Bull's concerns, without wounding their modesty too deeply for them to endure it with any degree of patience; and, as they are persons, whom I should be extremely sorry to irritate, I will reserve the *full display* of their merits, in this respect, for the *Supplement* to this volume, as notified at the head of this Number. Therefore for this display, the reader will please to wait for Letter (A) of that Supplement.

All that I shall attempt, therefore, upon the present occasion is, to shew what pains, what infinite pains, what precautions, *previous to publication*, the government has taken to prevent John Bull from being led *astray*; and, then to give you the remarkable instance of the Town of Dudley, where efforts in the way of *promulgation*, or of leading in the *right path*, have been made in a manner that does the highest honour to the ingenuity of loyal zeal.

You will, therefore, please to observe, that it is only a small part of *John Bull's Press* that I am now going to exhibit to you; and, that the remainder of it is reserved for the Supplement (A), in which will be explained the nature of the establishment of our newspapers, magazines, and reviews, their connections, together with those of authors of political books and pamphlets.

The newspapers, and, indeed, all our

books, with scarcely a single exception, are eternally boasting about our *Press*. Mr. PERRY of the Morning Chronicle, upon a recent occasion, was so deeply affected by his feelings of exultation upon this score, that he really seemed to blubber out, "*England, happy in her own free press!*" And a Mr. LEIGH HUNT, who and whose brother (as proprietors and printer) were, some time ago, led astray so far as to publish an offensive article about the Prince Regent, and who were, in consequence, shut up in separate jails for two years, and had to pay a good thumping fine each: this gentleman, having had time to reflect, has not only had his hostile passions cooled, but has kissed the rod with the most filial weakness, and has had such feelings awakened in his bosom as to draw forth the softest of sonnets, describing "*dear England*" as seated on her throne of Majesty, and administering justice and dealing out freedom to a barbarous and blackguard world; he, Mr. LEIGH HUNT, being an *American* by birth as well as parentage, which adds to the *value* of his applause.

But these sentimental effusions, though very laudable, and, perhaps, very well adapted to this "*highly polished Society*," where MOORE'S ALMANACK and other such occult works are so much in vogue, are too fine, and too vague in their meaning, for you and I. You, after a week's toil at clearing woods, hunting, fishing, or digging up salt, and I with bones aching and feet smarting after trudging from day-light to dark about my farm, have minds too coarse and too callous to yield, like the sensitive plant, to these gentle touches. We want something more solid to be brought in contact with our minds. In short, we are insensible to every thing but clearly proved facts, and arguments that are conclusive.

In such I shall deal, upon the present occasion; my first object being to show you the precautions adopted, with regard to the Press, previous to publication.

There was a time, when in England, the government had no other controul, I mean, *known and openly-claimed* controul, over the press, than that of prosecuting men for HAVING printed or published that which the law (no matter what sort of law) deemed criminal. As far as relates to the *acting on the stage*, there

was, as there still is a direct imprimatur, or, rather, *censorship*. That is to say, nothing can be played on the stage, 'till it has been submitted to an officer appointed by the government, who may, without any reason assigned, prohibit the performance of it. And this power is frequently exercised. Here, however, there is nothing very *new*. But it is not so with the *press*; for, during this king's reign; divers laws have been passed which give the government a check upon the press in its operations *previous to publication*; and of these I will first give you an account.

These modern laws begin at the very *root* of the press. That is to say, with the *Type-founders* and *Press-makers*. They could not go lower, unless they had gone to the metal mines and the timber-yards. I am not going to deal in general descriptions; but in specific facts. I am not going to tell you how the thing stands myself; but to make the laws themselves tell you how it stands, with regard to all the persons and all the occupations in any wise appertaining to the press.

LETTER FOUNDERS and Printing Press-MAKERS.—By an Act, passed on the 12th July, in the year 1789, these persons are compelled to give a *NOTICE*, in a given form, to the Clerk of the Peace, of their respective counties, that they intend to carry on the same businesses; and, they must have a *CERTIFICATE* from him of their having given such notice, before they can carry on the business.—The Clerk of the Peace is to *file* all such notices, and transmit copies of them to **THE SECRETARY OF STATE**. Mind *that!*—Next, these tradesmen are compelled to “*keep a fair account in writing of all persons to whom any such types or presses have been sold, and shall produce such accounts to any Justice of the Peace who shall require the same.*”

So far so good! No man can now buy a press or types without the knowledge of the government. The names of all the makers and all the buyers being thus registered, or on record, thus far the superintendence is complete.

PRINTERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.—Well, but there is another check even upon the raw material of printing. Printers, before they can exercise their calling, are compelled to give a *NOTICE* to, and obtain a *Certificate* from, the Clerk of the

Peace, who is again to transmit a copy of the notice to **HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE**, who thus has all the Printers enrolled too. What did I say? *Printers?* Aye, and **ALL OTHER PERSONS**, having *types or presses in their possession*. So that no man can have a press or types without being upon the Government's Register, or Roll.—In order to prevent presses and types from being made, sold, used, or kept, without the knowledge of the government, a heavy penalty is imposed in case of disobedience of the law; and, besides this, *any Justice of the Peace*, who may, “upon information upon oath, have reason to suspect,” that presses or types are kept contrary to the provisions of the act, empower a peace officer *to search for them*, and to seize them *and carry them away*.

Still safer! Here they are, then, all enrolled, all upon the file of the Clerk of the Peace, and on his Majesty's Secretary's Register. *Type-makers*, *Press-makers*, *Printers*, and all other *persons*, who make, use, or keep presses or types.

Well, now comes the *Manuscript* to be printed. Here the Printer is (by the same Act) not only compelled to know the *name*, but also the *place of abode* of the person, who employs him to print the *Book, Pamphlet, or Paper*. When he has done printing, or, when, indeed, he has printed a copy, he is to take one copy of the work, and on it is to **WRITE**, or **PRINT**, in fair and **LEGIBLE** characters, the *name and place of abode* of the person who has employed him to print it; and, at any time within six months, the printer is to *produce this copy to any justice of the peace* who shall require the same. All Privy Councillors are, *ex-officio*, Justices of the Peace. If this law had existed when the King came to the throne, how much trouble would have been saved in endeavours to ascertain the author of **JUNIUS'S LETTERS**! And how long ago would the pretty turns and antithisises of that writer, for want of the tickling charm of *mystery*, have sunk into oblivion along with the disputes out of which they arose, and which, when placed on the side of the discoveries and events of the last twenty years appear too trifling for the mind to rest upon for a single moment.

Here we have the *Author*, then, pretty

safe in the hands of the Printer. But, out goes the work, and how is "*any justice of the Peace*" to know what printer to go to find out the author? The printer is to *keep* a copy of the work, to *write* his employer's name and place of abode upon it, and to *produce the copy when required*; but, who is to find out *who the printer is*? Ah! Do you think, then, my good hunters on the banks of the Mississippi, that we have not thought of this? Yes, yes. The same act compels the Printer, to print *his* name and *place of abode*, on the *first leaf*, and also on the *last leaf*, of every thing that he prints. The man who sells it is known, of course. And thus we have them: Type-founder, Press-maker, Author, Printer, and Publisher, all in a string.

Thus far, then, we are pretty secure as to *Books* and *Pamphlets*; and you are now going to see, that we are still *safer* as to newspapers.

NEWS-PAPER PEOPLE.—In England, generally speaking, one man is *Proprietor*, another *Printer*, and another *Publisher*. This last sells the papers to persons called *News-men*, and they vend them to the public. Before a newspaper can be printed, the Proprietor, Printer, and Publisher must all go up before officers appointed by the King (or, the *Crown*, as they call it here), and *swear*, according to a certain form, that they are the proprietor, &c. that their *names* are so and so, and that they live at such and such places. If the printer, or publisher, or proprietor be changed; they must all go and swear again. If any one of them changes his place of residence, a new swearing takes place of the whole. The *Affidavit* being signed by them all, and *registered*, they are all thus neatly and *constantly* kept in a state of supervision. But, this is not all. There would be no proof, that some one, under the same title, and same names, might not fabricate a paper. Oh, no! They are not to slide out thus. The Publisher is compelled to *write his name* upon one copy of every paper that he publishes, and to deliver that copy, so written upon, to the said officers of government. And, when a prosecution takes place, that copy, together with the affidavit are produced in

court, and the Act makes them *proofs of proprietorship, printing, and publishing*.

Leaving you to admire the ingenuity, which has here been brought into exertion in aid of carefulness in the way of *prevention*, we will now see the remarkable instance, at Dudley, in the way of *promulgation*. But, I must previously observe, that the *Taxes* raised under the name of *Poor Rates*, are by *law*, to be expended *only* for the *relief* of the Poor, for the purposes of *employing such of them as are able to work*, and for the carrying on of law-proceedings *touching the Poor*. If any Overseer, or other person, who is entrusted with the Poor's Rates, expend any part of them in any other way, he is liable to be compelled to refund the money to the Parish, and he may be compelled to this by any person, who pays towards the Rates, if such person chooses to *appeal* from him to the Justices at the Quarter Sessions of the peace.

At the *Town of Dudley*, it appears, that a Mr. RANN, a bookseller, has lately presented a bill to the Overseers, making the *Parish of Dudley* his *Debtor* for the articles contained in that Bill. It appears, from printed papers before me, that a part of the bill was objected to by some persons; that this part was left out; that the bill was then paid; but, that a Justice of the Peace, who knew the law and his duty, as imposed by that law, refused to pass the Overseer's amount, 'till the amount of Mr. Rann's modified bill was expunged.

A good deal of attraction seems to have taken place, and several hand-bills were published. But, the point, in dispute seems to have been, whether the Overseer wished to pay the whole bill, £26 5s. 5d. or the modified Bill, £22 8s. 11d. This is of little importance, seeing that the whole of the bill was for articles, which the Overseer could not legally pay. We shall see, by and by, what justified their paying the Bill by citing the *example of other parish officers*, which makes the affair the more interesting. But first let us read attentively Mr. RANN's Bill; and here it is verbatim.

Inhabitants of Dudley,

To JOHN RANN.

		£.	s.	d.
1813.				
April 14,	Printing 500 Bills, on <i>Christianity in India</i>	0	11	0
	Paid for dispersing ditto	0	2	6
	24 Skins of Parchment, ruled for Petitions	2	4	4
	Proprietors of Birmingham Gazette, charged for advertising, } sent by Mr. Bransby	1	4	0
		£4. 1s. 10d.		
Nov. 15,	<i>Advertising Ball</i> , Birmingham Gazette	0	7	10
	Printing 100 <i>Cards, Gentlemen</i>	0	3	6
	Ditto 100 do. <i>Ladies</i>	0	3	0
	400 <i>Letters, hot pressed, Post Paper</i>	0	17	0
	Mr. Jabet charged for advertising	0	6	6
		£1. 17s. 10d.		
Dec. 6th,	Printing 200 Requisitions on <i>addressing Prince Regent on</i> } <i>his Speech</i>	0	8	6
	Paid Messenger to the Rev. Mr. Smith	0	1	0
	Paid for delivering Requisitions	0	1	4
	Advertising do. 2 Advertisements, Birmingham Gazette	1	4	10
	Do. Tymbbs, Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	Do. Thursday's Paper, Mr. Wainwright's order	0	17	10
8th,	1 Skin Parchment, for Address	0	2	3
20th,	Advertising Resolutions in Holl's Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	Ditto Courier	2	5	0
	Ditto Birmingham Gazette	0	15	10
	Ditto Stourbridge	0	14	6
		£8. 4s. 3d.		
1814.				
May 21,	Printing 500 Requisitions, for <i>Petitions against Corn Laws</i>	0	17	0
	Paid for delivering 300	0	2	6
24,	Paper and Pens	0	0	11
	37 large Skins Parchment, 2s. 4d.	4	6	4
	6 small do. do. ruled, 2s.	0	12	0
	Blotting Paper	0	0	10
	Stitching Skins, do.	0	1	0
	Paid Mr. Atkinson for Carriage	0	2	6
30,	1 Skin, not ruled	0	2	2
	6 do. ruled, 2s. 4d.	0	14	0
	Blotting Paper and Pens	0	0	9
		£7. 0s. 0d.		

DUDLEY FESTIVITIES.

June 8,	Printing 500 Bills, Folio, on <i>Ball, &c.</i>	1	0	0
	Advertising do. Birmingham Gazette	0	12	10
	Printing 120 Cards, <i>Peace Ball</i>	0	4	0
	100 do. <i>Dinner</i>	0	3	6
9,	500 Bills on <i>Squibs, &c.</i>	0	18	0
14,	Paid S. Marsh, for posting Bills	0	3	6
	2 Packs of Cards	0	10	6
	200 <i>Epitaphs on Bonaparte</i>	0	7	6
	250 <i>Wellington's Victory</i>	0	6	0
	Paid Letter Man for Delivery	0	3	0
		£4. 8s. 10d.		
July 13,	300 Post Folio Bills, <i>Requisition on the Slave Trade</i>	0	12	0
	Paid for delivering do.	0	2	0
14,	2 Skins Parchment, for Petitions	0	4	0

19,	10 Skins, ruled, 2s. 4d.....	1	3	4
4	do. Mr. Howells	0	9	4
		£2. 10s. 8d.		
		28	3	5
Mr. Roberts paid		1	18	0
		£26 5 5		

When you have read this bill attentively through, you will read the following, which has come to me in the shape of a hand-bill, printed by Mr. Rann himself. You will see, that the overseers are anxious to deny only that they would have paid the *first* bill. They justify their conduct in paying such bills on the ground that *other parishes do the same*; and the particular example of Birmingham is quoted to a pretty stiff amount. Here is their hand-bill.

"Dudley Workhouse, Aug. 9, 1814.

AN anonymous hand-bill, printed by J. Belcher and Son, Birmingham, containing a copy of Mr. Rann's account, having been circulated, the preamble of which states, "It will be observed that the sum total of the bill, and that stated as such in the summons precisely correspond."

The Overseers would not have noticed this anonymous production, but for the very illiberal report circulated by a few of the principal opponents to the payment of the modified bill, viz. "that the first account delivered by Mr. Rann to W. Bunch, (amount 26l. 5s. 5d.) would have been paid by the overseers but for their interference.

The Overseers, in justice to themselves, and in answer to the anonymous writer, conceive that the following declaration of W. Bunch will sufficiently refute such false aspersions, and prove to the parishioners that the first bill would not have been paid: on the contrary, Mr. Badger did not deem it admissible to be laid before the parish meeting.

JOSEPH HADEN, }
THOMAS BADGER. } Overseers.
WILLIAM FOLEY. }

Workhouse, Aug. 9, 1814.

THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION WAS MADE THIS DAY BY WM. BUNCH, IN THE PRESENCE OF MR. E. GUEST AND MR. ATKINSON.

That after obtaining Mr. Rann's bill, he shewed it to Mr. Badger, who immediately said it was a 'SHAMEFUL BILL,' and wished to have

taken it home with him for inspection, which he (Mr. Bunch) objected to.

That when the hand-bill for convening the meeting at the Workhouse was drawn up, Mr. Badger objected to the amount 26l. 5s. 5d. being inserted.

Wm. Bunch also admitted, that he inserted such amount, contrary to the advice and consent of Mr. Badger. He further admitted, that the other two overseers had not the least knowledge of the meeting being called, or that they knew of Mr. Rann's bill having been delivered, or in fact that they had any knowledge of either transaction.

N. B. Similar charges to those contained in Mr. Rann's last bill, are paid by the overseers of the neighbouring towns. The parish of Birmingham paid for the last year only, £. s. d.

Stationary, printing, and advertising, 122 11 10
Constables' accounts, in which such

charges as these are included - - 906 0 10½

J. Rann begs leave to inform his friends and the parishioners, that his first bill was not delivered to Mr. Bunch, as *expecting payment of the whole by the parish*, but that the overseers might select such parts of it as they thought proper to be paid by the parish.—PRINTED BY J. RANN, DUDLEY."

Now, we may ask Mr. RANN, if he did *not expect* the whole of this Bill to be paid by the Parish, why he presented it to the Overseers? But, what says he in the bill itself? "The *Inhabitants of Dudley TO John Rann*." That is to say *Debtors* to John Rann, to be sure. Come, come, Mr. RANN, deal fairly with us, and tell us, whether, if you had presented a bill to Mr. Badger, for instance, on his own private account, you would have left him to *select* any particular parts of it? Besides, why did you, at last leave out the *picks of cards to play with at the ball, the epitaphs on Bonaparte, and the placards about Wellington's Victory?* These were as *lawful* as the rest of the bill. So that, your endeavour to get out of the scrape is entirely useless, and only exposes you to laughter.



Bat, after all, the most interesting part of the affair is, the statement, that "similar charges to those in Mr. Rann's Bill are paid by the Overseers of the neighbouring Towns, and that the Parish of Birmingham, paid for the last year only £1028 12 8½." This is a pretty large sum even for Birmingham to pay, out of the Poor's Rates, for the purposes of political instruction, in the course of one year. The Poor, I suppose, had their share of the placards of Addresses, Squibs, Epitaphs, Wellington's Victory, Corn Laws, Christianity in India, and Slave Trade; but, in all conscience, they, who form so considerable a portion of the population, ought to have partaken in the Peace Balls and Dudley Festivities. Why should they not have had their loyalty, humanity, and

widely expanding Christian zeal enlivened and rendered more "vital" by a game at cards or a dance? But, these, it seems, these enliveners of political and christian virtue, were reserved exclusively for the "gentlemen" and "ladies." Faith! I would have had the thing general. I would have emptied the Work-Houses for once. All the tatterdemalions should have shaken their rags in the wind for joy at the victory of Wellington, and at the prospect of seeing the black slaves set free.

But come Mr. BADGER, since you said, that Mr. RANN's was a "shameful bill," let us see what, in your opinion made it so; and, in order to see this we must see the second bill; and here it is, with your introduction.

"Dudley, Aug. 3, 1814.

"A false and incorrect Statement of Mr. Rann's Bill having been industriously circulated, in order to obtain signatures for opposing the payment of the same, the Overseers think it their duty to lay before the Parishioners an exact Copy of Mr. Rann's Bill, as presented for payment to the Meeting at the Workhouse on Friday last.

JOSEPH HADEN,
THOMAS BADGER, } Overseers.
WILLIAM FOLEY,

Inhabitants of Dudley,

		To J. Rann,	£.	s.	d.
1813.					
April 14.	Printing 500 Bills on Christianity in India		0	11	0
	Paid for dispersing ditto		0	2	6
	24 Skins of Parchment, ruled		2	4	4
	Proprietors of the Birminham Gazette charged for advertising ditto, (ordered by Mr. Bransby)		1	4	0
		£4	1	10	
Dec. 6.	Printing 200 Requisitions on addressing the Prince Regent on his Speech		0	8	6
	Paid Messenger to the Rev. Mr. Smith		0	1	0
	Paid for posting and delivering Bills		0	1	4
	Advertising do. (two Advertisements) Birmingham Gazette ..		1	4	10
	Ditto Thursday's Paper		0	17	10
8.	1 Skin of Parchment for Address		0	2	3
20.	Advertising Resolutions in Holl's Worcester Paper		0	16	7
	Ditto in Courier		2	5	0
	Ditto Birmingham Gazette		0	15	10
	Ditto Stourbridge		0	14	6
	Ditto Tymbs's Worcester Paper		0	16	7
		£8	4	3	
1814.					
May 21.	Printing 500 Requisitions for Petition against altering Corn Laws		0	17	0
	Paid for delivering ditto		0	2	6
30.	1 Skin of Parchment		0	2	2
	6 ditto ruled		0	14	0
	Blotting Paper and Pens		0	0	9

37 Skins ruled (2s. 4d.)	4	6	4
6 small ditto (2s.)	0	12	0
Paper and Pens	0	0	11
Paid Carriage of Parchments	0	2	6
Blotting Paper	0	0	10
Stitching Skins	0	1	0
	£7 0 0		
July 13. Printing 300 Bills, Requisition on Slave Trade	0	12	0
Paid for delivering ditto	0	2	0
14. 2 Skins for Heads of Petition	0	4	0
19. 14 ditto ruled	1	12	8
	£2 10 8		
500 Bills to preserve the Peace, by order of the Magistrates	0	18	0
Paid S. Marsh for posting ditto	0	3	6
	£1 1 6		
	22 18 3		
Cr. 4 Skins returned	0	9	4
	£22 8 11		

PRINTED BY J. RANN, DUDLEY."

As far as I can gather, this bill was *actually paid* to Mr. RANN, but was ordered to be expunged afterwards by some sensible Justice of the Peace. However, be that as it may, you have, under your own hand, pretty clearly give it to be understood, that *this* was a *proper* bill to be presented to you as an overseer. Now, then, what is the *difference* between the two? Why, the squibs, the ball cards, the playing cards, the epitaphs on Bonaparte, the placards on Wellington's Victory, are left out of the second bill. But, were these *more* shameful or *less* lawful than the *requisitions on addressing the Prince Regent on his Speech*? Is there, in either bill, one single item which formed a legal charge against the parish? Against the many poor men, who pay towards the Poor-rates, and who, as is every where the case, are themselves upon the very verge of pauperism; though their still-remaining honest pride just enables them to keep out of the list?

Besides, in this modified, or reduced bill, there is a *new charge*, in my opinion more worthy of notice than all the rest put together. There is £1. 1s. 6d. for "Bills to *preserve the peace*, by order of the Magistrates." Where were all their peace officers? What! order parishes to pay for *printing bills to preserve the peace*! And, at *what time* was this? Why, at the very time that placards on *Wellington's Victory* and *Bonaparte's fall*

were sticking up! At the very time that the "Gentlemen" and "Ladies" were playing at cards and dancing for joy at our successes over Napoleon.

Adieu, Mr. BADGER. I thank you for the information, that you have assisted in giving us as to the mode of teaching John Bull the science of politics.

And now, Back-wood's men, if you ask me why I pester *you* with all this, I answer; that, if I can make my engine send but one drop to the banks of the Ohio, it will be sure to scatter more or less upon every spot between that and Botley.

WM. COBBETT.

No. I.
OF
THE ALARM;
OR,

Excitement to a New War with America.

Botley, 17 Aug. 1815.

One would have supposed, that no being less malignant than Satan is said to be would already have begun to sow the seeds of a new war with America, even at the moment, when, as we are told, a treaty of commerce and amity is forming between the two countries. Yet our principal newspapers are at this work already.

COURIER of the 15th instant: "We have received some more American

“Papers to the 19th July, and it is curious to see how the return of Bonaparte to France has revived the hope and language of the Americans. They are again for war. We should like to behold their countenances upon the arrival of the news of their favorite’s final discomfiture and surrender to the British.”

TIMES of the 16th instant: “American papers to the 16th ult. have been received. We have not generally noticed these lately, as containing little matter worthy of observation. The present merit a word or two. It will be observed that THE AMERICANS are as faithful to their OLD MASTER, as Ney, Labedoyere, and the rest of his respectable adherents in Europe. No sooner do they learn that Bonaparte has landed on the coast of France, than they, his trans-atlantic subjects, also assume the tri-coloured cockade, and hoist the tri-coloured flag. And yet the Americans never partook of the five and twenty years of glory, gained under those insignia that the French Rebels talk about, but have on the contrary, undergone five and twenty years of insult and wrong from the various revolutionary governments of France: by mounting the tri-coloured cockade, it will be obvious that they mean insulting us. They are almost as ready to make war on us, as Bonaparte was to attack the Allies at Waterloo. They are for short accounts. Unluckily the accounts in Europe are closed before their’s is opened with us. They will, therefore, do well to take out their tri-coloured cockades, and use less swaggering.”

This, the reader may be well assured, is only the commencement of a series of efforts to mislead the people of England, to inflame them, and to prepare them for another war with America. What short of this can these false and base assertions aim at? The writer knows, that all he has here said is false. He knows, that Americans have hoisted no tri-coloured flag or cockade; he knows, that they have fought their own battles, always keeping aloof from all connection with Napoleon; he knows that they never approved of Napoleon’s title or his conquests; he knows, that they always complained of every infringement of their rights by him; he knows, that, at one period of the French revolu-

tion, they actually declared war and went to war against France; he knows, that they now earnestly cultivate peace with all the world: and, knowing all this, he again begins to call them the slaves of France, and to accuse them with a design to make war upon us.

And what is the publication, on which this war-trumpeter founds these his assertions! Here it is as published by himself, from a New York Paper of the 12th of July.

“Symptoms.—It is lamentable, that peace in form, does not produce reconciliation at heart. England seems still sour, sullen, and hostile. The butchery of American prisoners at Dartmoor, after peace was known to exist; the impressment of four American sailors since that event, and the correspondence of Colonel Nichols in Florida with Colonel Hawkins, relative to the Indians in alliance with Britain, &c. evince deep hatred to America. We cannot doubt, that our Government will profit by experience, and settle accounts with England, before delay increases the score, and endurance of one wrong be urged as a reason for bearing another. The vulgar adage is as true of nations as of private persons —short accounts make long friends.”

Now, here are specific charges against us. Why not answer them? If true, are they not very serious? If false, why not answer them? The fate of the unfortunate Americans at Dartmoor was enough to move a heart of lead. Can it be supposed, that the people of America will not feel for those men? And, ought not the language of conciliation to be used, instead of that of reproach and defiance? As to the impressment of American seamen, it was the sole cause of the war with America. I do not know that the present charge is well-founded, and, I hope, it is not. But, of one thing we may be very sure; and, that is, that this is a practice which the Americans will never submit to.—With regard to the correspondence of Colonel Nicholls with Colonel Hawkins, I do not know what it is. The American papers, containing it, have not reached me, and these war-trumpeters have avoided giving it to the English public. Yet, they ought to have done that, in order to let us see what it was, in this correspondence, which had so offended the Americans.

No, you foolish men, you would not

see the Americans *hang their heads*, if you could see them on the arrival of the news of Napoleon's second fall. They may be sorry for it, because they may think, that it tends to the injury of the freedom of mankind, especially when they now hear it avowed in our prints, that it was *not* Napoleon but *free government* that was the object of, at least, *their* animosity. But, the Americans never relied upon any but their *own power* for their defence. They have always well known, that they must rest solely on *that rock*.

I repeat, that these men (without success, I hope) will use all the means in their power to re-kindle the flames of war with America, she being the *last of their* enemies left, as they think, in existence. It is the duty of every man to endeavour to defeat this horrible purpose. What! just as the two countries are re-opening their commercial connections; just when a chance offers of our still retaining some part of our former supply of America, would these vile men re-plunge the two countries into a war!

I have thus begun to *sound the alarm*. I beseech the people of England, the merchants, the manufacturers, every body to *take the alarm*, and to be upon their guard against the efforts of these mischief-bruing writers. It shall be my care, under successive Nos. of THE ALARM, to expose their conduct in this respect; so that, if, unhappily, they should succeed in their endeavours, I may, as in the case of the last war, be able to say, that I have done all I could to prevent it.

WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS;

OR,

NOTICES FOR HISTORY.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—I have given below, from the *Courier*, a continuation of those interesting particulars respecting this great man, which have been published down to the period of his leaving the shores, as a felon, of a country which, more than any other country in the world, boasts of its magnanimity; its justice, its religion, and its morality. The savage joy of our corrupt press at the treatment which this great personage has received, has been unbounded. They said every thing they could; they employed all the

means in their power to induce him to commit suicide; but they have been disappointed. Though fallen from a throne, though he has renounced all schemes of ambition, Napoleon could not renounce *the man*; he could not descend from that elevated station in which Nature had placed him. Nor has he closed his splendid career. If he escapes the perils with which he is now surrounded, he may yet calculate on, one day, witnessing the punishment of his vile traducers. As a justification of the base attacks which have been made upon him, and the ungenerous treatment he has received, our corrupt press is constantly repeating the story of, what they call, the murder of Captain Wright, which they unblushingly charge against Napoleon. But mark the inconsistency of these unprincipled hirelings. Before Napoleon unsuspectingly adopted the fatal resolution of surrendering himself to, what he thought, "*the most generous*" of his enemies, nothing would satisfy his calumniators, but his being brought to *trial* for the murder of Captain Wright. Of his conviction these men never hinted the smallest doubt. They never expressed any fear about the want of *proof*. "Only bring him to trial, said they, and we are certain of his being convicted." This answered the purpose at, the time, of these blood hounds. They were aware, however, that Napoleon could not be tried on so absurd a charge; that it was unfounded; consequently could not be proved. But while no one but themselves thought at all of this charge, they kept ringing the changes upon it, knowing well that, whether it was true or false, they would receive credit for it from their credulous readers, the greater part of whom, entertaining a personal enmity against Napoleon, though they know not for what, would rather believe a false tale of him than a true one. No sooner, however, was Napoleon in a situation where he might have been brought to answer for this alledged murder; no sooner had he given himself up to the protection, and to the justice, of our laws; no sooner might he have been arraigned and tried for this foul deed, than those who formerly called for this, were the loudest in exclaiming against it. And what was the ground upon which they now insisted that he ought *not* to be tried for this murder? Not because of any defect in our law; not be-

cause it was contrary to our practice to try by commission, persons who may have committed offences in foreign countries, against our law. No such reason as this was stated. What plea, then, did these men urge for refusing to Napoleon this act of justice? Why, they said, that "*in all probability the result of the trial would be the ACQUITTAL of the accused for WANT OF PROOF!*"—Ye base hypocrites! could a better reason be given why Napoleon should have had the benefit of a trial? You persist in holding him *guilty* of a crime. How was that guilt to be made out but by a fair trial. But if you refuse him that trial, whether innocent or guilty, you set up your own *ipse dixit* as paramount to all law and justice, and plainly announce to the world, that you have all along been conscious of his innocence.—But the "want of proof."—Well then? What of that? Would you refuse a man justice, because there is no proof of crime against him? Is not this the strongest presumption of *innocence* that can be imagined?—If Napoleon murdered Captain Wright, where are the murderers? If these also were put to death, who committed this second atrocity? Could Napoleon himself shed so much blood with his own hands, and no one witness it; no means be left to trace it out? Was it not possible, even by *circumstantial* evidence, to place him in a situation which called for the vengeance of the law upon his head?—The truth is, the story of Captain Wright, as told in our corrupt newspapers, is, like all the other calumnies which have been promulgated as to Napoleon, the offspring of malice, and can only receive credit among those who are accustomed to believe without examination.—A correspondent informs me, that a proposal was lately made, in a certain quarter, by an individual possessing the entire confidence of Napoleon, to *assassinate* his master, for the purpose of removing all obstruction to the restoration of the Bourbons. I have no doubt, that there are wretches in the world, base enough to perpetrate even this crime; and had Napoleon continued in France, the sanguinary writers of the *Times* and *Courier* might, very probably, have soon had their wishes gratified, in the murder of the man whose blood they have so long thirsted after, and whose greatest crime, in their eyes, was, in the estimation of all liberal

minded men, his greatest virtue. But Napoleon has, for this time, escaped the dagger of the assassin. May the same good fortune always attend him; may he live to be an ornament, as I am sure he will be, to that society which he may fill during the rest of his life; and may he there experience more gratitude, and more generosity than he ever experienced among Europeans.

MOST INTERESTING PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO BONAPARTE.

(FROM THE COURIER OF AUG. 10th.)

The dispatches which announced the transshipment of Buonaparte from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, were brought by Lord Viscount Lowther, who had proceeded in the *Northumberland*, from Portsmouth, and who with the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, M. P. for Worcestershire, remained for two hours in earnest conversation with Bonaparte after such of his suite as were not to accompany him, had left him.

The following narrative is from such sources, that we confidently present it to the public as authentic:—The *Bellerophon* and *Tonnant* put to sea from Plymouth Sound on Friday, and here we must contradict the statement that they sailed to avoid the service of a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The facts of the case are, that the concourse of boats in Plymouth Sound, and the loss of some lives which had already taken place, induced the Government to remove the *Bellerophon* to a greater distance; and the writ which is spoken of was no more than a common subpoena from the Court of King's Bench, obtained by some person who has some cause pending in that Court, in which he fancied he wanted the evidence of Napoleon and Jerome Bonaparte and Admiral Villamez.—The *Northumberland* sailed from Portsmouth on Friday last, and on nearing Torbay on Sunday, perceived two line of battle ships approaching her, which proved to be the *Bellerophon* with Bonaparte on board, and the *Tonnant* with Lord Keith. In a few hours the *Northumberland* hailed them and asked after Bonaparte, who, she was informed, had not come out of his cabin for some days. The ships came out to an anchor off Torbay. General Bertrand went first on board the *Tonnant*, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne. He is a man of about 50 years of age, and extremely well behaved. At dinner, Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Bonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the *Northumberland*. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against the measure of sending the Emperor (as he and all the suite constantly style him) to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation were to live quietly in England under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne did not enter into any discussion upon the subject. After dinner Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne, accompanied by Bertrand, went on board the *Bellerophon*. Previously to their arrival, Bonaparte's arms and pistols had been taken away from him—not without consi-

derable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers. Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Bonaparte took leave of them individually. A Colonel Pistowski, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him. He had received seventeen wounds in the service of Bonaparte, and said he would serve in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish Officers were peremptory, and he was removed to the *Eurotas*. Savary und Lallemand however were not among those sent on board the frigate—they were left in the *Bellerophon*.

When Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne went on board the *Bellerophon* on Sunday afternoon, Bonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat with red facings, two epaulets, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the Legion of Honour, and a *chapeau bras*, with the three coloured cockade. His face is remarkably plump, and his head rather bald upon the top. After the usual salutations, Lord Keith, addressing himself to Bonaparte, acquainted him with his intended transfer from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*.—Bonaparte immediately protested with great vehemence against this act of the British Government—he did not expect it—he did not conceive that any possible objection could be made to his residing in England quietly for the rest of his life. No answer was returned by either Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburne. A British officer who stood near him observed to him, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Emperor of Russia. Bonaparte.—“*Dieu me garde des Russes!*”—(God keep me from the Russians.) In making this reply, he looked at General Bertrand, and shrugged up his shoulders.—Sir George Cockburne.—“At what hour to-morrow morning shall I come, General, and receive you on board the *Northumberland*?” Bonaparte, with some surprise at being styled merely General.—“At ten o’clock.” Bertrand, Madame Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Count and Countess Montholon were standing near Bonaparte. Sir Geo. Cockburne asked him if he wanted any thing more before they put to sea. Bertrand replied, 20 packs of cards, a backgammon and a domino table, and Madame Bertrand desired to have some necessary articles of furniture, which, it was said, should be furnished forthwith. One of Bonaparte’s officers, the nephew of Josephine Beauharnois, his first wife, complained that faith had not been kept with the Emperor, who expected to reside with his suite in Great Britain. Bonaparte asked Lord Keith’s advice. His Lordship merely replied, that he had to obey the orders he had received from his Government. Bonaparte then desired another interview with his Lordship. Lord Keith declined it, alledging that it could not but be unsatisfactory—he had no discretion—his fate could not be altered. An Officer who stood near him, said, “You would have been taken if you had remained at Rochefort another hour, and sent off to Paris.” Bonaparte turned his eye upon the speaker, but did not speak a word. He next addressed himself to Sir George Cockburne, and asked several questions about St.

Helena.—“Is there any hunting or shooting there—Where am I to reside?” He then abruptly changed the subject, and burst into more investives against the Government, to which no answer was returned. Whether he had any idea of a writ of *Habeas Corpus* or no, we know not—but he was very solicitous to go ashore. He then expressed some indignation at being stiled General—saying, “You have sent Ambassadors to me as a Sovereign Potentate—you have acknowledged me as First Consul.” He took a great deal of snuff while speaking. After reminding him that the *Northumberland*’s barge would come for him at ten on Monday morning, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne retired.

Early on Monday morning Sir George Cockburne went on board the *Bellerophon* to superintend the inspection of Bonaparte’s baggage; it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They were all sent on board the *Northumberland* about eleven o’clock. Bonaparte had brought with him from France about forty servants, amongst whom were a groom, postilion, and lamplighter. Two-thirds of these were sent on board the *Eurotas*. At half-past eleven o’clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, went on board the *Bellerophon* to receive Bonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Bonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the officers of the *Bellerophon*. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. Lord Keith received in the barge the following personages:—Bonaparte, General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children, Count and Countess Montholon and child, Count Lascazas, General Gorgaud, nine men and three women servants. Bonaparte’s surgeon refused to accompany him, upon which the surgeon of the *Bellerophon* offered to supply his place. Bonaparte was this day dressed in a cocked hat, much worn, with a tri-coloured cockade; his coat was buttoned close round him—a plain green one with a red collar; he had three orders—two crosses, and a large silver star, with the inscription *Honneur et Patrie*; white breeches, silk stockings, and gold buckles.—Savary and Lallemand were left behind in the *Bellerophon*. Savary seemed in great dread of being given up to the French Government, repeatedly asserting that the honour of England would not allow him to be landed again on the shores of France.

About twelve o’clock the *Tonnant*’s barge reached the *Northumberland*. Bertrand stepped first upon deck, Bonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The Marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a General, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburne—“*Je suis à vos ordres.*” He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who were near the Admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an Officer, he said, “*Dans quel corps servez vous?*” (In what corps do you serve?) The Officer replied “in the artillery.” Bonaparte immediately rejoined—*Je sors de cette service moi-même*—(I was originally in that service myself). After taking leave of the Officers who had accompanied him from the *Bellerophon*, and

embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, he went into the after cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, &c.—Bertrand—I never gave in my adhesion to Louis the 18th. It is therefore palpably unjust to proscribe me. However, I shall return in a year or two to superintend the education of my children.”—Madam Bertrand appeared much distressed; said she was obliged to leave Paris in a hurry without clothes or other necessaries. She had lived in the house occupied by the Duke de Berri. She spoke most flatteringly of her husband—said the Emperor was too great a man to be depressed by circumstances, and concluded by expressing a wish for some Paris Papers.—Count Montholon spoke of the improvements made by Bonaparte in Paris; alluded to his bilious complaint, which required much exercise.—The Countess Montholon is a very interesting woman—she said little.—Bertrand asked what we should have done had we taken Bonaparte at sea? As we are doing now, was the reply.—Lord Keith took leave, in the afternoon, of Bonaparte, and returned on board the *Tonnant*.—Lord Lowther and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton now entered into very earnest conversation with him, which continued for two hours. As he was very communicative, and seemed desirous of a very free conversation with these two accomplished young Noblemen, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and entered into a review of much of his conduct. We understand that they asked him how he came to commit the impolicy of attacking Spain—the motives for the Berlin and Milan Decrees—the war against Russia—the refusal of the terms of peace offered him before the first capture of Paris, &c. To all these questions we hear he gave full answers, not avoiding, but rather encouraging the discussion. We hope to be able to give the particulars, which ought to be known. They are materials for history. At the expiration of two hours, Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton took leave of them and went ashore. His cabin in the *Northumberland* is fitted up with great elegance. His bed is peculiarly handsome and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet is of silver. Among other articles upon it is a magnificent snuff-box, upon which is embossed in gold an eagle with a crown flying from Elba to the coast of France—the eagle just seeing the coast of France, and the respective distances are admirably executed. The Valet de Chambres are particularly fine men.—They and all about him always address him by the title of Emperor. The *Bellerophon*, *Tonnant*, and *Eurotas* returned to Plymouth Sound last Tuesday. The *Northumberland* was lying too off Plymouth on Tuesday though the wind was fair; but it is supposed she is waiting for the *Weymouth* store-ship, which was taking in stores, &c. and was to complete them by the next day.

August 11, 1815.

The *Northumberland* was still off Plymouth lying to on Wednesday. It is supposed she is waiting for the *Harannah* frigate, the *Ceylon*, *Weazel*, and some storeships.

As a great deal of misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of St. Helena as a proper place for the confinement of Bonaparte, we cannot avoid observing that the sentiments of many

of our correspondents are founded upon the supposition—First, that Bonaparte is to be at liberty on that island. Secondly, that neutral vessels are to have access to it. Thirdly, that the garrison is not to be trusted, and that the island does not belong to the Crown, but to the East India Company. With respect to the first objection, we can assure our readers that there is no intention of suffering Bonaparte to be at liberty in the Island; he will be as regularly guarded and confined as he could be in England, and permitted only to take air and exercise when properly attended. In the second place, all neutrals whatever will be excluded from the island as long as Bonaparte is to continue a prisoner there; so that no danger on this account can possibly exist. In the third place he will be placed under the custody of a General Officer in the King's service, and of a British Admiral; the former will have the government of the island under the present circumstances. The garrison of the East India Company will be reduced or wholly withdrawn, and the island will be garrisoned by a King's regiment. With these securities we should be glad to know what place in the world would be half so secure for a State Prisoner as St. Helena? In addition to all the ordinary securities of confinement, you have the advantage of a small island, many hundred miles from any land, remote from Europe, with a scanty population, and a station from which alone it is practicable and easy to exclude all neutral trade, and indeed all communication whatever.

August 14.

BONAPARTE BEFORE AND AFTER HIS EMBARKATION ON BOARD THE *NORTHUMBERLAND*.
(JOURNAL.)

Friday, Aug. 4.—At four A. M. unmoored ship, and hove short. At eleven, *Bellerophon*, with Bonaparte, Bertrand, Rovigo, Laschasse, Madame Bertrand and three children, Madame Montholon and one child, also Count Montholon on board, got under weigh, as did the *Eurotas*, with the rest of his suite, and both made sail. At four P. M. *Tonnant* weighed and made sail. At 8. 30. Lord Keith came on board, hauled down Rear-Admiral Hallowell's flag, and hoisted Lord Keith's.

Saturday, 5.—At 1, A. M. wore ship and hove to; *Bellerophon*, *Eurotas*, *Express* schooner, and *Nimble* cutter in company. At 50 minutes past two the *Acleon* joined company.

“ Sunday, 6.—At 8. exchanged numbers with the *Northumberland*, Rear Admiral Cockburn, and bore up to join her; saluted Lord Keith's flag. At 10. 30. returned the *Northumberland's* salute, with 13 guns—shortened sail, and hove to. At 11. A. M. filled and made sail with the squadron. At 3, P. M. came to an anchor off Berry Head, about four miles off shore—*Bellerophon*, *Northumberland*, *Eurotas*, *Ceylon*, and *Bucephalus* in company; the *Express* schooner and *Nimble* cutter keeping under weigh, running round the *Bellerophon*, keeping off the boats.

On Monday morning Lord Keith, Sir George Cockburn, and others, went on board the *Bellerophon*, to acquaint Bonaparte with his intended removal to the *Northumberland*, and conveyance in that ship to St. Helena. He appeared very uneasy at the communication, and after a long expostulation, sternly refused to go; but, on Lord Keith's observing that such was the

order of his Government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of resorting to coercive measures, Bonaparte replied—"Oh no, no! You command! I must obey! You may take me; but, recollect, I do not go with my own free will." He then formally protested in writing against the act before witnesses. He asked numerous inquisitorial questions of Lord Keith, which his Lordship very properly declined answering. As soon as his baggage had been removed from one ship to the other, the parting scene commenced, which was truly affecting. All wept, but particularly Savary, and a Polish officer (six feet two inches high) who has been exalted from the ranks by Bonaparte. He clung to his master's knees—wrote an interesting letter to Lord Keith, entreating permission to accompany him, even in the most menial capacity, which could not be admitted.

Before the *Northumberland* sailed, a yacht or large boat, with several gentlemen of the Pay-Office, had arrived to pay the ship, who, availing themselves of the opportunity presented by the folding doors of the cabin being open, beheld to their surprise, Bonaparte playing at *vingt un* with his companions, as cheerfully as if nothing unpleasant had happened! When Sir G. Cockburn saw Bonaparte for the first time, he simply pulled off his hat, in the same manner as he would have done to another General, and said: "How do you do General Bonaparte?" which was returned by him in a manner equally laconic, but with his head uncovered. Every thing was so well conducted in this removal, that the greatest order prevailed, and so little was it known at Torbay, off which place it occurred, that very few boats were present to witness it. The *Northumberland* has part of the military on board, and is full of stores and baggage. The cabin is neatly fitted up, and the after part divided in the centre, for sleeping, one side of which is occupied by Bonaparte, and the other by Sir G. Cockburn. —Liberty having been afforded to Bonaparte and his companions to procure from England any articles of luxury or accommodation they may desire, they have sent frequently ashore, and have purchased a billiard table, wines of the most costly description, and an immense quantity of playing cards, chessmen, &c. and the best books procurable in the English language, the Ex-Emperor having suddenly grown exceedingly fond of that language! Bonaparte solicited Mr. O'Meara, Surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, to attend him in the same capacity, which Lord Keith has consented to, and an exchange between the surgeons of the *Bellerophon* and *Northumberland* was in consequence speedily effected. Bonaparte endeavoured to make Mr. O'Meara forget his duty, even at the commencement, by offering him a salary of 500*l.* per annum; but this Gentleman rejected the overture, and said that the pay of his King was enough to satisfy him! When the person who wanted to serve a subpoena called at Admiral Lord Keith's office, his Lordship was represented to be afloat, on which he immediately hired a boat, and proceeded to the Sound. As the boat approached the *Tonnant*, on the starboard side, his Lordship went down the larboard side, and steered for Cawsand, leaving orders, that if any person in plain clothes enquired for him, he should be informed that he had quitted the ship. The stranger shortly afterwards

made his appearance on the starboard side, anxious to see his Lordship. Captain Brenton directly stepped forward, and supposing the emissary to be a foreigner, addressed him in French, which he seemed to feel hurt at, declaring that he was not a Frenchman, and that he had important business to transact with Lord Keith. On being informed that his Lordship was not on board, he departed in a state of extreme chagrin and disappointment.

FRANCE.—It seems pretty evident that this delightful country is yet to be the scene of revolutionary measures. The new government knows not how to act. The presence of a powerful foreign army induces it, the one day, to assume the appearance of firmness, and even of rigour, but the very next it displays a timidity altogether inconsistent with the tone which it had previously adopted. A decree abolishing the liberty of the Press, by virtue of which two or three newspapers were suppressed, was promulgated; only, however, to re-appear on the following day. Another decree was intended to disband the armies of France; but instead of this being acted upon, to the extent which it intimated, the army of the Loire, that army naturally the most obnoxious to Louis the XVIIIth, because of its attachment to Napoleon, has been allowed to remain unbroken, without any other modification than the substitution of one of Napoleon's favourite generals the command, in the place of another; and that other, though he has, a thousand times over, been denounced the vilest of men, and the basest of traitors, still appears to hold rank in the army, without even the slightest censure having been pronounced upon his conduct. The policy which has occasioned these fluctuating proceedings, is evidently dictated, on the one hand, by the fear of offending the Allies, and, on the other, by a dread of the people, who, by all accounts, are less prepared than ever to give a cordial reception to the Bourbons. This has called forth the severest animadversions of our newspapers upon the talents of the King, who, it has even been hinted, is to be deposed, and another of his race more subservient to the views of the Allies, elevated to the throne. The following extract from the *Courier*, while it establishes the fact that the people are hostile to the cause of Louis, gives a tolerable specimen of the indecent language in which our corrupt writers now indulge while

speaking of that unfortunate monarch :—

"We have every reliance upon his honour and integrity, but it were vain to deny what is so visible to every eye, *that he has but little hold upon the people. There is a broad line of distinction between their characters, a deep gulph that we cannot expect to be filled up.*—When he was first restored, his 23 years' exclusion from the throne had entailed upon him the labour of *reconciling incompatibilities*. He had to claim the throne by an *hereditary* title, and yet to confirm the *revolutionary* disposition of property; to give to Europe a pledge of the tranquility of France, and yet to conciliate a ferocious and mercenary army; to bestow some influence upon the faithful adherents of his system, and yet to avail himself of that power by which his family had been proscribed and murdered. Is it surprising that he *failed*? Is it wonderful that now the experiment is to be repeated a second time under more doubtful circumstances,—is it wonderful that we should discover nothing but *inconsistency* in its development, and fear and forebode nothing but confusion in its contemplation?"—If this is to be held a faithful picture of Louis XVIII., it is not he, surely, that ought to be blamed for not accomplishing what, it thus appears, he could not accomplish. Why was not the *inability*, the *failures*, the *inconsistency*, of the poor old King discovered before the sword was again drawn in his behalf? Why is he thrust upon the French people against their will, merely for the purpose of removing him, and placing another object, perhaps more obnoxious, before their eyes?—But, the fact is, it was not the interest of the present King, nor of any of the Bourbons, that led our base writers to espouse their cause. This was a mere pretext to cover their views, until a favourable opportunity offered of declaring themselves. What is it to them, that Louis XVIII. is now seated on the throne of his ancestors? They still recommend war against his army and his fortresses, and the levying of contributions upon his best friends. It is the crippling, the partitioning of France, the blotting her out from the list of nations, the entire extinction of the principles of liberty. It is this, which our corrupt writers aim at; it is this which they have all along had in view, notwithstanding their pretended zeal for

the restoration of the Bourbons, and their hypocritical cant about the integrity of France. Every thing which, they formerly told us, was wanting, has been accomplished by the removal of Napoleon from all political influence in Europe. Yet it is said in the *Times* newspaper, that "there can be no security for Europe, but in the *inability* of France to do mischief;" and, in the *Courier*, that "the disease is not cured by the removal of Bonaparte;" that the giving up of the greater part of the frontier towns of France to the allies, is "absolutely necessary;" that it is "a substantial guarantee," upon which they ought to insist; and that "if it be for no other purpose than to vindicate the moral superiority of the rest of Europe, *let France be left to gaze upon her nakedness*, and thus learn to sum up the deformities, which her tinsel trappings have so long concealed."—It is impossible to mistake this language. It is the complete humiliation, the degradation, the spoliation of France, which these writers wish to see accomplished.

But the army. Aye, the army. This stands in the way of their favorite project. It is this that will prevent the "clipping of the wings of France."—Indignant at the attachment which this army has shewn, in all circumstances, to the country, and resolved, as it has declared, not to survive the loss of independence, these brave men have become the object of the rancour and viperation of our corruptionists. "We are certain," says the writer of the *Times*, "that a few *striking examples* made of the chief of the criminals would have more effect in teaching the rest a peaceable and honest demeanour, for the future, than a thousand proclamations addressed by their benevolent king to their obdurate natures."—This base tool of corruption, who lately recommended the assassination of Napoleon, now calls for the blood of his faithful generals, now stigmatizes them "ruffians" and "wretches," for no other crime than that of being faithful, like true soldiers, to the cause which they had sworn to maintain at the hazard of their lives. But it is not the blood of the chiefs only of this gallant army that will satisfy him. The whole army he consigns at once to the gibbet. "Those villains," says he, who, in imitation of their leader, "make an incessant talk of their disposition to serve their country, would indeed have served it in a most essential way by

“being HANGED for its good, as they have well deserved, and, as we suspect, they will deserve again, as soon as their conquerors are removed”—“tranquillity is only to be expected in proportion as the obstinate disturbers of it are removed, their reformation being wholly out of the question.” Thus would the sanguinary and hypocritical knave, exterminate every man found in France, who refused to subscribe to his ideas of social order. Thus would he outrage humanity, deluge France with blood, if an individual was to be found there, who dared to question the truth of any article of his political or religious creed. And thus would all those men deal with France, who have been accustomed to apply the term Jacobin to Frechmen as a term of reproach, and who have regarded it as the worst of sacrilege to doubt, for a moment of the “divine rights of Kings.” These men, however, seem to forget, in their eagerness for the destruction and humiliation of France, that the war which has been waged with her, for a quarter of a century, has been a war of *opinions* which must ultimately prevail, a war against *principles*, which, sooner or later, will render useless all the bayonets now arrayed against them. It is scarcely possible that France can remain long in her present state. With, at least, 200,000 foreign soldier in, and

about Paris, and all the great sovereigns of Europe as his friends, Louis cannot prevail upon the people to acknowledge him as their Sovereign, cannot protect himself from the tauntings and insults of an infuriated populace, who attribute all their sufferings, all their degradation, to his employing foreigners, the rooted and avowed enemies of France, to replace him by force, on the throne. He must be blind, indeed, not to see that the nation detest the whole of his race. It was an attempt on the part of his predecessor, Louis XVI. to induce an invasion of France by a foreign army, which constituted one of the principal charges against that Monarch, and caused him to lose his head. If such were the fatal consequences of a mere attempt, what must be the opinion about Louis XVIII. when the Allied armies are no longer near to form a guard round his person? It was, perhaps, well that Napoleon spared the Bourbons. Had he brought them to the block, it might have been doubted how far he was justified in the act. At any rate, his enemies have nothing to charge him with on this score, and all their other accusations have been proved to be false. The sins of Louis XVIII. are sins against the wishes of a whole, or nearly a whole people. Let that people, if they are so inclined, take their revenge.

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, 11½d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 8s. 8½d.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 7d; Mutton, 7d.; Veal, 8½; Pork, 7½; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 13s.; Portugal, 3s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 3d.; Leonosa, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Spain, 348lbs—From Germany, 1,416lbs.—From Africa, 60lbs.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, £4 9s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 5½d. each.—Silver in bars, none.—N. B. These are the prices in Bank of England paper.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 56½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 58.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 39.